NEW PUBLICATIONS.

MORLEY'S LIFE OF COBDEN.

THE LIFE OF RICHARD CORDEN. By JOHN MORLEY. 8vo. pp. vill., 640. Roberts Brothers.

With us Richard Cobden is best remembered as the friend of America when America was in sore strait for friends. But the great work of his life was connected with the establishment of an economical system which has never commended itself to the judgment of this country, and upon which Americans seem to look with less and less favor as it is subjected to the test of time. Hence there is a great deal in this biography with which, there is a great deal in this biography with which, noiwithstanding our regard for Cobden's memory. we find it impossible to sympathize, and but for the skill of the biographer there would be much in which we could take only a languid concern. Mr. terest to the story that protectionist and free trader will read it with almost equal delight. Those who cannot accept the intallibility of the anti-corn faw league, and who appreciate only imperfectly the personal aspects of past political controversies in England, cannot help following with pleasare this narrative of a strong, sensible, unserfish, clearheaded, self-made man's victory over poverty, class prejudice, social obstacles, powerful political interests, and that peculiar British mertin which is so often mistaken for conservatism. Mr. Moriey is by no means inclined to overrate the part taken by Mr. Cobden in the revolution of English commercial policy effected by the repeal of the corn laws; but has shown great tact in connecting the history of the man with the history of the movement with which he was so long identified, and describing, along with the progress of his principles, the de velopment of his character, the method of his work, and the measure of his personal influence. In this happy combination of the political record with the personal biography the book is a model. Mr. Mor-ley's intellectual appreciation of his subject is exactly what it ought to be. It is free alike from un-reasoning admiration and from critical coldness. His enlogy is none the less hearty because it is studiously moderate and sensible, and he is never betrayed into that yulgar error of biographers who assume a tone of oftensive superiority to their hero by way of showing a jedicial impartiality. Indeed the author is wisely sparing of comment, whether in praise or apology, leaving the life of Cobden to speak for itself and to teach its own lessons. His style is easy, natural, clear, occasionally epigrammatic, never strained, never ambitious, always agreeable. His book will take its place among the best recent specimens of a class of literature in which the present generation has been remarkably

If Mr. Cobden had been in the least vain of social distinctions, he might have reflected with compla-cency, when kings and emperors welcomed him to confidential interviews, that he had begun life as a bagman. His early employment was well suited to the turn of his character, and our biographer shows how ably he put it to use:

shows how ably he put it to use:

Gollecting accounts and soliciting orders for mashins and callooses gave room in their humble sphere for those high inborn qualities of energy, and sociability, which in later years produced the most active and the most persuasive of popular statesmen. But what made the life of a traveller so specially welcome to Cobden was the gratification that it offered to the master-passion of his life, an insatiable desire to know the affairs of the world. Famous men who became his friends in the years to come, agree in the admission that they have never known a man in whom this trait of a sound and rational desire to know and to learn was so strong and so inexhaustible. It was not the curiosity of the infantile dabbler in all subjects, random and superficial; and yet it was as far removed from the dry parade of the mere tabulist and statistician. It was not tookish, for Cobden always felt that much of what is best worth knowing is never written in books. Nor was it the curiosity of a speculative understanding; yet, as we shall see presently, there soon grew up in his mind a body of theoretic principles, and a philosophic conception of modern society, round which the knowing so strengues processed, there soon grew up in his mind a body of theoretic principles, and a philosophic conception of modern society, round which the knowing so prevented and configured. The informality grouped, and by which the desire to learn was gradually directed and configured. The information to be gathered in coaches and in the commercial rooms of provincial hotels was narrow enough in some senses, but it was varied, fresh, and in real matter. To a man of Cobden's active and independent intelligence this contact with such a diversity of interest and character was a congenial process of education. Harsh circumstance had left no other education open to him.

The "insatiable desire to know the affairs of the world" led him soon after he had become estable.

to console myself." He was always remarkable for patience and good humor under discomfort, and these qualities appear not to have failed him during his American journeys, although at that date they must have been severely taxed. He was pleased upon the whole with the people as well as the country, and if some of his criticisms were sharp they were not ill-tempered. "It strikes me," he writes, "that the organ of solf-esteem is destined to be the national feature in the craniums of this people. They are the most insatiable gourmands of flattery and praise that ever existed," Just before

sailing for home, he writes:

mest a hatch box-lack. All is done in pursuit of ene common object, the economy of time. We like to speculate upon the future, and I have sometimes that the same bell again. Nor of less sometimes that derivity of that future people of New Holland, or of some other at present unknown contract, will amount to, which shall surpass and supersedict will be able to dispense with foot and signal the claims of the North Land and the Land States, and here is a shall be and the land the land

orderly self-respect which is the great characteristic of the masses in the United States." At an earlier period he speaks of meeting a party of Americans at their consul's in Rome: "Introduced to several of our most distinguished citizens,'-a title for a bore." The following story of Yankee impudence he heard at St. Petersburg :

he heard at St. Petersburg:

Some 'time ago a Yankee adventurer asked permission to establish a bunting station on the Neuth American territory belonging to ilassia, but it was remased. A year or two after this occarred, Baron Meyendorii happened to be calling upon his friend the Hone Minister, who, purting a letter into his band, remarked; "Here is something to amuse you; it has occasioned me half an hour's incessant laughter." It was a distatch from the Governor of Irkutsk, describing in pompous language an "hyasion," which had taken place in the North American territory of the Russian Laupire by an armed force, consisting of from eighty to one hundred men, conmanded by an American, and baving three pieces of artillery. It was the Yankee fur-trader, who had taken French leave and squatted bins if upon the most favorable situation in the Caar's dominions for carrying on his hunting operations. The question arose how he was to be ejected. There was no Russian armed force or authority of any kind within many hundreds, perhaps thousand, miles of the invading army. The expense of fitting out an armament for the purpose was then calculated, but the distance and the difficulty of approaching the Yankee headquarters were such formatable obstacles, that it was thought better to leave the enemy in possession of his conquered territory, and there he recains now, carrying on his operations against the bears and the beavers of the Caar without molestation. This gives an idea of the weakness of a Government whose dominions extend to upward of a twelvenonth's lowney from its capital.

Mr. Cobden' opinion of two illustrious Americans

"Charles Summer has been here, and is now on his way to see De Tocqueville. We had some very long gdjourned debates, as you may suppose. What a talker he is! One night, or rather morning, I had to warn him to bed at half past!, which to us rustics is a late sicting, for at this harvest-time folks are thinking of getting up to work soon after that. But excepting for his own health's sake I would have gladly protracted out societs to daylight. It is refreshing to meet with a man of his intellectual calibre and of such accomplishments, one too so capable in every way of playing a politician's part, giving up all to conscience. I really hardly know such a case. We can't but ourselves in such a comparison, for we have not the same temptations even had we his powers. For in this aristocratic country we know that the chief scats must be occupied by men of a given class, or their nominees. In his country every post was accessible to him, if he could only speak successfully to Bunkum." of our own day will be read with interest:

bunkum."

"Jan. 7, 1864. (To Mr. Sunner.)—You will soon begin to busy yourselves with the task of President-making. I hope you will reslect Mr. Lincoln. He is rising in reputation in Europe apart from the suncess of the North. He possesses great moral qualities, which in the long run tell mere on the for times of the world in these days than mere intellect. I always thought his want of enlarged experience was a disadvantage to him. But he knows his own countrymen evidently, and that is the main point. And being a strategy to the read of the world, he has the less temptation to embark in toreign controversies or quarrels. Nothing shows his solid sense more than the pertinacity with which he avoids all outside complications. His truthful elevation of character, and his somewhat stolid placefully of nature, put it quite beyond the power of other Governments to fasten a quarrel on him, and inspire the fullest confidence in those who are committing themselves to the sade of the North. I say all this on the assumption that he has treeveenbly committed himself to "abolition" as the result of the war. Any compromise on that question would cover your cause with eternal infanty, and render the sanguinary evil war with which you have desolated the North and South a useless butchery."

The course of Mesars, Cobden and Bright during our rebellion will not soon be forgotten by grateful Americans. Mr. Morley gives us many pages of Cobden's correspondence during this trying period and we cannot read them without an increased sense of his services to the cause of freedom, his sturdiness and independence in the midst of passion and clamor, and the general shrowdness of his judgsometimes mistaken—as most of our friends indeed occasionally were. Mr. Bright was much quicke than his friend Cobden to see the meaning of the

ally grouped, and by which the desire to learn was gradually directed and configured. The information to be gathered in coaches and in the commercial rooms of provincial hotels was narrow enough in some senses, but it was varied, fresh, and in real matter. To a man of Cobden's active and independent intelligence this contact with such a diversity of interest and character was a congenial process of education. Harsh circumstance had left no other education open to him.

The "insatiable desire to know the affairs of the world" led him, soon after he had become established in business for himself, to make a short visit to the United States. Mr. Morley gives some extracts from his letters home during this tour (1835), in a country on whose soil, he wrote, "I fondly hope will be realized some of those dreams of human exaltation, if not of perfection, with which I love to console myself." He was always remarkable for

There were reasons why he should be slow to take the side of the North. One of them was that he could not for a time bear to face the prospect that the community which had hitherto been the realization on so great a scale of his pacific ideals, should after all plunge into war just as a monarchy or an oligarchy might have done. The North by refusing to allow the South to secede, seemed to him at first to be the author of the strife. Another reason why his sympathics wavered was that though the Southerners were slaveholders, their interests made them Free Traders. As we have seen more than once, Colden was always prone to be led by his sympathics made recommist. The hesitation, however, did not last long, lie, who had converted so many thousands of people, was in this instance himself converted by Mr. Bright, whose sagacity, sharpened by his religious hatred of slavery, at once perceived that a break-up of the American Union would be a damaging blow to the cause of freedom all over the world. At the beginning of the stringle, they happened to meet Mr. Motley at breakfast. With a goed deal of liveliness Colden attacked something which Mr. Motley had been writing in the newspapers in favor of the Northern case. As they walked away down Piceadilly together, Mr. Bright remonstrated with Cohden on these symptoms of a leaning toward the South. The argument was continued and renewed as other arguments had been between them. The time came for Cobden to address his constituents at Rochdide. "Now," said Mr. Bright with a final push of insistence, "this is the moment for you to speak with a clear voice." Cobden's vision by this time was no longer disturbed by economic of other preposessions, and he was henceforth as generally identified as Mr. Bright with support of the Northern case.

Mr. Cobden was one of the few Englishmen who kept their temper at the time of the Trent affair.

day. Besides the confidence you give me when we are together, I feel quite sure that the fact of your being present with the power of reply exerts a restraining influence on Falmerston and the other speakers on the Treasury bench, and it is especially important that they should be so restrained on the occasion. I hope therefore that you will find yourself in a situation to come for one night."

a title being in my case," he wrote, "rather an affair of feeling than of reason, I will not dwell further on the subject." Mr. Merley remarks:

No other course could have been reconcilable with Conden's pure and simple type of citizenship. To him the service was its own reward. The whole system of decoration was alien to the antique and homely arrived the next results of the course could have been reconcilable with the service was its own reward. The whole system of decoration was alien to the antique and homely arrived the service was its own reward.

"Some shallow and indiscreet members of our aristocracy exclaimed at the outbreak of the civil war. The Republican bubble (as buret); but the experience of the last two years shows that, whether in peace or war, this Republic, instead of a bubble, is the greatest and most solid fact in all history.... It is to be hoped that gradually our educated mob of the clubs will become, hawever unwillingly, sequainted with the warlike resources of America. At present, nine out of ten of them are under the complacent delusien that we have the power at any moment to raise the blockage, and effect a peace on the basis of separation. And such is the invulnerable conceit of a large part of our aristocratic middle class, that if such facts as I have given above were published by you or myself, they would be read with increducity, and we should be denounced as Yankee sympathizers."

In one of the last of his letters, written about a

In one of the last of his letters, written about a adopted by the governing class toward the United States when it became evident which side would win: "It is clear that the hounge which was refused to justice and humanity will be freely given to success. No part of your speech was to me more Colden had no fear of a war with America, because our generous homestead law and our tich public lands, offered free to the immigrant, must convince the mass of the English people " that they have a far higher stake in the United States than in the country of their birth", but, he continued, "though the governing classes will not be able to involve us in war, they will, I think, if they continue to hold their present rule in this country, bring on us some great humiliation from America, which never could happen if the people as a whole controlled the pelities of the State."

Mr. Cobden had always so strennously opposed the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston that there appears to be something almost grotesque in the offer of a seat in the Cabinet made to him by Pal-merston in 1850. Many of his friends urged him to accept it, and were disappointed when he refused, though Mr. Bright, with his usual suggesty, saw that Cobden was right. The invitation to join the new Ministry was placed in Mr. Cobden's hands on his arrival at Liverpool after the second American

arrival at Liverpoot after the second American voyage:

"Iondon, 4th July, 1859.—I thought it best on my arrival in town to go first to Palmersten, and explain plainly and trankly everything. On calling on him I was most pleasantly welcomed, and we talked as usual for a few minutes on everything but what I went about. At length I broke the ice in this way: You have acted in so manly and magnaminous a manner in pressing me to take office in your Cabinet, that I feel bound to come and talk to you without reserve upon the subject. My case is this: For the last twelve years I have been the systematic and constant assailant of the principle on which your toreign pelicy has been carried on. I believe you to be warlike, intermedding, and quarralsome, and that your poley was calculated to embroil us with foreign nations. At the same time I have expressed a general want of confidence in your domestic politics. Now I may have been altogether wrong in my views; it is possible I may have been, but I put it candidly to you whether it ought to be in your Cabinet, whilst holding a post of high honor and emolument derived from you, that I should make the urst avowal of a change of opinion respecting your public policy? Should I not expose myself to severe suspicions, and deservedly so, if I were under these circumstances to step from an Atlantic steamer into your Cabinet? Understand, I beg. that I have no personal feelings which prevent me from accepting your ofter. I have opposed you as the supposed representative of what I be leved to be dangerous principles. If I have ever been personally offensive in my opposition it was not intended, and assuredly you never gare me any justification for such a course."

"In reply he disclaimed any feelings of a personal indicated and any deliners with the course."

you never gave me any justification for such a course."

"In reply he disclaimed any feelings of a personal kind, and said that even if there had been any personalities, they never ought to be remembered for three months; and he added in a laughing way that he thought Gibson had hit him quite as hard as I had. Then he commenced to combat my objections, and to offer, with apparently great sincerity, a variety of arguments to show that I ought to enter the Cabinet, dwelling particularly on the fact that as questions of foreign policy were now uppermost, and as those questions were in the hands of the Exceptive, it was only by joining the Government that I could indicate them. Yet and your friends complain, he said, of a secret diplomacy and that wars are entered into without consulting the people. Now it is in the Cabinet alone that questions of foreign policy are settled. We never consult Parliament till after they are settled. If, therefore, you wish to have a voice in those questions

because you have a right to it.

"In answer to my remark that perhaps others might be found quite as much entitled as myself to represent the advanced Liberals in his Government, he replaced quickly: "Will you be good enough to menion the name of anyone excepting Bright, Gibson and yourself, that I could bring into the Cabinet as the representative of the Radicals?" In urged that Bright had been unfairly indeed, and that his speeches at Birmingham, etc., were not of a kind to exclude him from an ofter of a seat, and I remarked that he had very carefully avoided personalities it those speeches. It is not personalities that are complained of; a public man, earth he is right in attacking persons. But it is his attack on elasses that have given offence to powerful hodies, who can make their resentment felt."

"In the course of his remarks he gave me a full explaination of his views on the present war, and expressed his determination to preserve a strict noutraity, observing that, as the people of England would as soon think of evacuating three islands' as te go to war in behalf of Austria, and as France did not ask us to help her, he could not see any possibility of our being mixed up in the fray. On this point he remarked: 'If you are afraid of our abandoning our neutral ground, why don't you come into the citadel of power, where you can have a volce in preventing it?

"On his remarking upon the difficulty there would be in carrying on the Government unless all parties were united, afal how impossible it was for him to do so if the natural representatives of the Liberals would not take office, I replied that the very fact of his having offered me office was, so far as I was concerned, his justification; and that I should be blamed, and not he, in the matter, And I added: 'I shall give just the same amport to your Government whils Mr. Gibson is in it, who represents identically my views, as I should if I were one of your Government; for I should be certain to run away, if you were to do anything very contrary to my

the subject." Mr. Morley remarks:

No other course could have been reconcilable with Cobden's pure and suple type of citizenship. To him the service was its own reward. The whole system of decoration was alien to the antique and homely spirit of his patriolism. He never used great words about such things, nor spoke bitterly of those who coveted and prized them. On one occasion Mr. Gladstone, not long after the conclusion of the Treaty, invited him to one of his official state dinners. "To tell you the truth, Cobden replied, "I have never had the courage to get a court costume; and as I do not like being singular by coming in ordinary dress, I will beg you to excuse me." There were no heroics about him in encountering these trifling symbols of a social ordering with which he did not sympathize. He merely practised, almost without claiming it, the right of living his own plath life, and satisfying his own ideals of civic self-respect.

When the "Mauchester School" met with a great

When the "Manchester School" met with a great reverse in the elections of 1857, Cobden was less concerned about his own defeat than by the ingratitude et Manches er towards Mr. Bright:

concerned about his own defeat than by the ingratitude of Manches or towards Mr. Bright:

"The only incident of the election which hangs
about me with a permanent feeling of irritability,
is the a recions treatment Bright—has received from
the people at Manchester. They are mainly indebted to him for the prosperity which has converted a majority into little better than Tories, and
now the base snebs kick away the ladder! I find
ny scorn boiling over constantly, and can hardly
keep my hands, or rather my pen, oif them. The
case of Gibson ta different. He could not have been
without the expectation that some day an end
would be put to a connection for which there was
no special fitness; and to have sat for nearly eighteen
years for Manchester has given him a position
which nothing can take away. I do not, however,
think he deserved to be left in a minority. But
Bright's case is very different. He was one of themselves. You know how valiantly he defended his
order against all assailants. He was an honor to
his constituents. They had no grisvance on account of his peace views, for they knew he was a
Quaker when they elected him. To place such a
man at the bottom of the poli, when prostrate by
excessive labors in the public service, is the most
afforcions specimen of political ingratitude I ever
encountered. . . I do not believe he will be
affected in the way you fear by the news. He will,
I believe, take it very coolly and philosophically;
and I think it will prove probably the best thing
that could have happened for his health."

On the same day he writes to Mr. Hargreaves:—

"The secret of such a display of snobbishness and
ingratitude is in the great prespective which Laneashire enjoys, and for which it is mainly indebted
to Bright: and the result bas been to make a large
increase to the number of Tories, and to cool down
to a genicel tone the polities of the Wings, until at
last the majority find an earnest Radical not sufficiently gented for their taste. This will go on in
the north of England so

turned."
The same humor finds vent in some words to Mr.
W. S. Lindsay of this date:—
"Del my friend — make a failure of seconding
the Address? I hear so. I have never known a
manufacturing representative put into cocked hat
and breeches and ruffles, with a sword by his side,
to make a speech for the Government, without having his head turned by the feathers and frippery.
Generally they give way to a paroxysm of snobbery, and go down on their belifes, and throw dust
on their heads, and fling dirt at the prominent men
of their ewn order.
"In aswer to your friend's inquiry about Box-

journeys, Mr. Cobden, whose importance was better understood abroad than by a large class of his own countrymen, was much sought after by European rulers and statesmen, and he left many interesting records of his conversations with them, and estimates of their characters. Guizot he pronounced " an intellectual pedant and a moral prude, with no more knowledge of men and things than is possessed ing so much struck me," he says, "as his contempt for the people through whom and for whom he professed to rule." After another inter-view he writes: "I formed the opinion that he is a eleveractor, and perhaps that is all we can say of the ablest sovereigns of this or any other country." Thiers was " a lively little man without dignity and with nothing to impress you with a sense of power." Pins IX, received Mr. Cobden at a private audience (1874), and our Englishman, after discoursing to the Pontiff on the advantages of free trade, besought the Papal Intervention in the matter of Spanish bull-fights, exhibiting an extract from a Madrid paper to show how it was the custom in Spain to hold the disgusting function in honor of saints' days. "After a little conversation upon the cruelty and demoralization of these spectacles, he thanked me for having drawn his attention to it, and promised to give instructions upon the subject to an envoy whom he was about to send to Spain. He concluded by another complimentary phrase or two and we left. I was impressed with the notion that he is sincere, kind-hearted and good, and that he is possessed of strong commor sense and sound understanding. He did not strike me as a man of commanding genius," Metternich's head and countenance "convey the impression of high polish rather than native force of character, and his conversation is more subtle than profound. He talks meessantly, perhaps in order to choose his own topics. . . . He alluded to Ireland, and said he could not discover a key for the solution of the difficulty; in other countries reforms were wanted, but there a social system must be created out of class. He is probably the last of those state physicians who, looking only to the symptoms of a nation, content themselves with superficial remedies from day to day, and never attempt to probe beneath the surface, to discover the source of the evils which afflict the social system. This order of statesmen will pass away with him, because too much light has been shed upon the laboratory of governments to allow them to impose upon mankind with the old formulas."

Mr. Cobden died on the 2d of April, 1865, John Bright and one other fast friend, Mr. George Moffatt, being with him at the last:

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